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B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

PAGE 01 KIGALI 04921 01 OF 04 301254Z
 ACTION AF-01

INFO LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09	H-01
INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01
PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00
TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-00	/024W		
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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2370

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 KIGALI 04921

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, RW

SUBJECT: A PROPOSITION FOR ARUSHA

REF: KIGALI 4901

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: RWANDA RELIGIOUS LEADERS PROPOSED A
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PAGE 02 KIGALI 04921 01 OF 04 301254Z
 POWER-SHARING FORMULA FAVORING OPPOSITION PARTIES
 AGAINST THE PRESIDENT'S MRND. IN THE ABSENCE OF MRND
 MINISTERS, THE CABINET ACCEPTED THE PROPOSALS IN A
 SPECIAL MEETING SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 28. FIRMLY
 SUPPORTED BY THE PAPAL NUNCIO, THE CHURCHES ARE SO
 FAR FIRMLY COMMITTED TO THEIR POLITICAL PROPOSAL.
 THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR AGREES. WESTERN AMBASSADORS
 WILL MEET WITH THE NONCE DECEMBER 1, AFTER HEARING
 ABOUT HABYARIMANA'S VISIT TO DAR ES SALAAM. BEFORE
 US IS A CONFIDENTIAL PROPOSAL TO INFLUENCE
 HABYARIMANA TO ACCEPT THE BISHOPS' PROPOSAL. I

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SUGGEST WE SUPPORT THE PAPAL NUNCIO IN GENERAL TERMS ON A POSSIBLE DEMARCHE, BUT CONSULT CLOSELY WITH PARIS BEFORE ENDORSING THE SPECIFICS OF THE BISHOPS' PLAN. END SUMMARY.

THE BISHOPS' PROPOSAL

3. AS REPORTED REFTEL, AS OF LATE FRIDAY WE EXPECTED THE LEADERS OF THE CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN RWANDA TO RETURN A COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE TWO PROPOSALS THAT WERE ON THE TABLE. TO EVERYONE'S SURPRISE, BY FRIDAY NIGHT, THE BISHOPS HAD SHIFTED TO FULL SUPPORT FOR THE SECOND ALTERNATIVE, AND HAD COMPLETELY ABANDONED THE OPTION WHICH WOULD HAVE GIVEN THE MRND 35 PERCENT OF THE SEATS. AS IT NOW STANDS, THE BISHOPS' PROPOSAL WOULD PROVIDE THREE MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIOS EACH FOR THE MRND, MDR, RPF, PL AND PSD. AS ADOPTED BY THE CABINET ON SATURDAY,

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PAGE 03 KIGALI 04921 01 OF 04 301254Z
IT WOULD INCLUDE TWO SEATS FOR THE PDC AND THREE FOR OTHER PARTIES. THE SECOND SEAT FOR THE PDC IS INTENDED TO BE THAT OF SECRETARY OF STATE FOR REFUGEES, NOT A MINISTRY, BUT A VOTE IN THE CABINET. IN ADDITION, THE MRND WOULD RETAIN THE PRESIDENCY, AND THE MDR WOULD RETAIN THE PREMATURE. THE RPF WOULD HOLD THE POSITION OF VICE PRIME MINISTER, BUT WE BELIEVE THAT WOULD NOT BE IN ADDITION TO ITS THREE PORTFOLIOS.

4. THE BISHOPS PUT THIS PROPOSITION TO THE PRESIDENT IN A FORMAL LETTER FRIDAY NIGHT.

THE GOVERNMENT ACTS

5. ON SATURDAY, THE PRIME MINISTER CALLED TOGETHER THE CABINET TO CONSIDER THE PROPOSALS MADE BY THE BISHOPS. DELAYED BY AN HOUR BY THE NONAPPEARANCE OF THE MRND MINISTERS, THE CABINET THEN WENT FORWARD AND, BY CONSENSUS, ADOPTED THE PROPOSALS MADE BY THE BISHOPS IN THE ABSENCE OF THE MRND. WHEN THE MRND MINISTERS SHOWED UP LATER, THEY WERE PRESENTED WITH A

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FAIT ACCOMPLI.

6. THE MRND MINISTERS THEN ISSUED A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT THAT THEY WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT ON THE BASIS OF THE BISHOPS PROPOSALS. SOME MRND MINISTERS HAVE SUGGESTED THAT THEY WILL HAVE THEIR GOVERNMENT AND THE OPPOSITION
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PAGE 04 KIGALI 04921 01 OF 04 301254Z
CAN HAVE ITS | THIS IS CLEARLY A WILDLY EMOTIONAL REACTION TO CURRENT EVENTS THAT WORKED AGAINST THEIR INTERESTS. THERE WAS OTHER TALK IN THE PRESIDENT'S ENTOURAGE OF DISMISSING THE PRIME MINISTER AND FORMING A NEW GOVERNMENT. THIS IS CONSTITUTIONAL, BUT POLITICAL DISASTER. THE DIRECTOR OF THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET ASSURES ME THAT THE PRESIDENT WILL NOT GO TO THIS EXTREME.

THE CHURCHES STAND FIRM

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PAGE 01 KIGALI 04921 02 OF 04 301256Z
ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09	H-01
	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01
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-----7FFF55 301256Z /38

O 301245Z NOV 92
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2371
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 KIGALI 04921

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
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7. STRENGTHENED BY THE FIRM POSITION OF THE PAPAL
NUNCIO, AND BY THE INTEREST EXPRESSED BY THE POPE IN
ROME ON THE FIRST DAY OF ADVENT (HE CALLED FOR PEACE
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PAGE 02 KIGALI 04921 02 OF 04 301256Z
OF ALL WARRING FACTIONS IN RWANDA), THE CHURCHES HAVE
LARGELY PULLED TOGETHER DEFENDING THE PROPOSITION
THEY HAVE NOW MADE. THE EXCEPTION IS THE ANGLICAN
ARCHBISHOP WHO HAS WRITTEN TO THE OBSERVERS
PROTESTING THE MANNER IN WHICH THE BISHOPS' PROPOSAL
WAS ARRIVED AT. HE DID NOT OFFER A COUNTER PROPOSAL,
BUT CLEARLY PREFERRED THE EARLIER OPTION WHICH WOULD
HAVE GIVEN THE MRND 35 PERCENT OF THE CABINET.
(NOTE. THE ARCHBISHOP HAS ALWAYS BEEN A STRONG
SUPPORTER OF THE PRESIDENT.)

8. THE PAPAL NUNCIO TOLD ME, BOTH SATURDAY AND
SUNDAY, THAT HE SEES NO OTHER OPTION THAN FOR THE
PRESIDENT TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSALS MADE BY THE CHURCH
LEADERS. HE SPENT MUCH OF SUNDAY AFTERNOON WITH
ENOCH RUHIGERA, THE DIRECTOR OF THE PRESIDENT'S
CABINET, TRYING TO PERSUADE THE LATTER OF THE
IMPORTANCE OF ACCEPTING THE PROPOSALS AS THEY ARE.
RUHIGERA LATER CAME TO SEE ME. SEE BELOW.

THE FRENCH POSITION

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HABYARIMANA TO DAR ES SALAAM

14. ALTHOUGH WE ARE TOLD THAT THE VISIT TO PRESIDENT
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PAGE 02 KIGALI 04921 03 OF 04 301258Z
MWINYI IN DAR ES SALAAM WAS PLANNED SOME TIME AGO,
ITS TIMING SEEMS QUITE SIGNIFICANT. IT IS A ONE-DAY
VISIT. THE PRESIDENT LEFT AT 7:00 THIS MORNING AND
WILL BE BACK LATE THIS AFTERNOON. SPECULATION HERE
IS THAT MWINYI WILL ENCOURAGE HABYARIMANA TO ACCEPT
THE RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE BISHOPS. ENOCH RUHIGERA
IS WITH THE PRESIDENT AND HAS PROMISED TO CALL ME
THIS EVENING TO GIVE ME A RUNDOWN ON THE OUTCOME.

A MORE ACTIVE WESTERN ROLE?

15. LATE SUNDAY, RUHIGERA (PROTECT) CAME BY THE
RESIDENCE WITH A PERSONAL PROPOSAL FOR US.
APPARENTLY CONVINCED BY THE PAPAL NUNCIO THAT THERE
WAS NO ALTERNATIVE, HE ASKED ME IF I WOULD GO TO THE
PRESIDENT AND PERSUADE HIM TO ACCEPT THE BISHOPS'
RECOMMENDATIONS. I TOLD HIM THAT TO INTERVENE IN
SUCH A SPECIFIC WAY WOULD REQUIRE FULL AGREEMENT WITH
OUR WESTERN ALLIES AND INSTRUCTIONS FROM WASHINGTON.
ENOCH AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE VERY HELPFUL TO HAVE
THE FRENCH AND THE AMERICAN AMBASSADORS TOGETHER
SPEAKING WITH THE PRESIDENT. HE DID NOT LIKE THE
IDEA OF INVOLVING US TOGETHER WITH THE PAPAL NUNCIO,
BECAUSE MANY AROUND THE PRESIDENT ARE NOW SUSPICIOUS
THAT THE NONCE PLAYED A HEAVY-HANDED ROLE IN GETTING
THE BISHOPS TO FINALLY PROPOSE THE SECOND OPTION.

16. ENOCH'S PROPOSAL WOULD IMPLY THAT THE THREE
PORTFOLIOS FOR OTHER PARTIES WOULD INCLUDE AT LEAST
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PAGE 03 KIGALI 04921 03 OF 04 301258Z
ONE AND PROBABLY TWO SEATS FOR THE CDR. HE ARGUES
THIS ON THE BASIS OF THE REALITY OF THE CDR AS A
POLITICAL FORCE, AND THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO HAVE
THEM INSIDE THE GOVERNMENT THAN THREATENING THE NEW
GOVERNMENT FROM OUTSIDE. (COMMENT: THIS IS A VIEW
SHARED BY THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR. CLEARLY IT IS NOT
SHARED BY THE OPPOSITION PARTIES AND THE RPF.) ENOCH
SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR THE BISHOPS
TO FORMULATE A PLEDGE IN SUPPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT
WHICH WOULD COMMIT THE CDR, AND ALL OTHER PARTIES, TO
AVOID ETHNIC OR REGIONAL POSITIONS AND TO ESCHEW
VIOLENCE.

17. I HAVE TALKED WITH THE FRENCH AND GERMAN
AMBASSADORS THIS MORNING. WE AGREE TO MEET AGAIN
TOMORROW, DECEMBER 1, TO DISCUSS A POSSIBLE WESTERN
ROLE IN THIS CRISIS AFTER HEARING WHAT HAS HAPPENED
IN DAR ES SALAAM. THE PAPAL NUNCIO WILL BE AVAILABLE
TOMORROW TO MEET WITH US ALTHOUGH HE IS OUT OF TOWN
TODAY FOR THE FUNERAL OF A CANADIAN PRIEST WHO WAS
APPARENTLY MURDERED LAST NIGHT REPORTEDLY BECAUSE OF
HIS ACTIVISM IN WORKING WITH YOUTH.

PROPOSED APPROACH

18. THERE SEEKS TO BE A CONSENSUS FORMING AMONG THE
OBSERVERS HERE THAT THE ONLY VIABLE OPTION FOR PEACE
AND CONTINUATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IS FOR THE
PRESIDENT TO ACCEPT IN BROAD TERMS THE PROPOSALS MADE
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PAGE 04 KIGALI 04921 03 OF 04 301258Z
BY THE BISHOPS. I AM PREPARED TO SUPPORT, WITH THE
WESTERN AMBASSADORS AND THE PAPAL NUNCIO, A GENERAL
APPROACH TO PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA URGING HIM TO WORK
WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE BISHOPS' PROPOSALS, BUT
STOPPING SHORT OF ENDORSING THEIR SPECIFICS.

19. MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT COULD COME UP IN ONE
OF THREE WAYS. IT COULD BE AN INVITATION FROM THE
PRESIDENT TO THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS FOR A CONVERSATION
ON THE PRESENT CRISIS. IT COULD BE A PROPOSAL FROM

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THE NONCE, AS DEAN OF THE CORPS, TO TAKE THE

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PAGE 01 KIGALI 04921 04 OF 04 302005Z
ACTION AF-01

INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 C-01 DODE-00 EUR-01 HA-09 H-01
INRE-00 INR-01 L-03 ADS-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 OMB-01
PA-01 PM-02 PRS-01 P-01 SNP-00 SP-00 SS-00
TRSE-00 T-01 USIE-00 RPE-00 /024W
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O 301245Z NOV 92
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2373
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 04 KIGALI 04921

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)
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INITIATIVE TO MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT, INVITING THE
U.S., FRENCH, GERMAN AND BELGIAN AMBASSADORS TO
ACCOMPANY HIM. [REDACTED]

CONFIDENTIAL

B1

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PAGE 02

KIGALI 04921 04 OF 04 302005Z

B1

[REDACTED] IN

THIS CASE, WE WOULD WISH TO HAVE A CLEAR UNANIMITY OF VIEWS AMONG THE WESTERN AMBASSADORS.

20. I HAVE NO IDEA OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR HERE IS SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF PARIS, AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH HE IS SIMPLY USING HIS OWN LOGIC. ALTHOUGH THERE IS A MOOD OF URGENCY AND CRISIS IN KIGALI WHICH MAY REQUIRE US TO MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT IN THE NEXT TWENTY-FOUR HOURS, ON BALANCE I COME DOWN BELIEVING THAT WE SHOULD NOT TAKE A POSITION ON A SPECIFIC ISSUE IN FRONT OF US WITHOUT HAVING COORDINATED WITH THE FRENCH. EVEN IF MARTRES IS RIGHT, THAT THE FRENCH WOULD BE FORCED TO GO ALONG WITH THE WESTERN CONSENSUS, THE PRUDENT POSITION WOULD BE TO HAVE A CONVERSATION WITH THE FRENCH IN PARIS BEFORE WE RESPOND SPECIFICALLY TO THE PRESIDENT.

21. THUS, I PROPOSE TO ACCOMPANY THE NONCE IF HE INSISTS ON GOING FORWARD TO SEE THE PRESIDENT, IF THE FRENCH, BELGIANS AND GERMANS ALSO ACCOMPANY HIM, BUT NOT TO MAKE ANY SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE PRESIDENT WITHOUT HAVING FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS. IF THE PRESIDENT CALLS ME TOMORROW, I WILL GIVE HIM GENERAL IDEAS ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF RECONCILIATION AND RESPECTING THE ADVICE THAT HE HAS BEEN GIVEN, BUT WOULD TELL HIM I MUST AWAIT FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS TO WASHINGTON TO BE MORE SPECIFIC. FLATEN

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PAGE 03

KIGALI 04921 04 OF 04 302005Z

CONFIDENTIAL

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